

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STOCKH 03951 01 OF 02 221306Z

45

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CU-02 EB-07 BIB-01 DHA-02 CIAE-00

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-07 COME-00 /096 W

----- 103478

R 221130Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8200

INFO AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 3951

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SW

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH NEUTRALS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION:
SWEDEN

REF: (A) STATE 177231, (B) STOCKHOLM 2518, (C) STOCKHOLM 2507

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED
REF (A), WE DISCUSSED CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WITH MFA OFFICIAL
RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE AFFAIRS. ON BILATERAL APPROACHES,
OFFICIAL NOTED SOMEWHAT "TOUGHER" ATTITUDE OF POLES TOWARDS
CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, WHICH SHE ATTRIBUTED TO POLISH EFFORT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STOCKH 03951 01 OF 02 221306Z

TO "HARMONIZE" THEIR CSCE LINE WITH OTHER EE STATES.

OFFICIAL SAID SWEDES SHARE U.S. SKEPTICISM OF BREZHNEV PROPOSALS FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES, ALTHOUGH SWEDES INTEND TO STUDY THE PROPOSALS CAREFULLY. NORDIC COUNTRIES WILL HOLD MEETING ON CSCE AT EXPERTS LEVEL AUGUST 13 IN COPENHAGEN, ONE WEEK BEFORE NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING. REGARDING BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETING, OFFICIAL SAID SHE AND OTHER MFA OFFICIAL HAD VISITED BELGRADE TO DISCUSS QUESTION WITH YUGOSLAVS, WHO SHE SAID FAVOR SHORT PREPARATORY MEETING TO BE FOLLOWED BY CONFERENCE OF TWO MONTHS AT DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS LEVEL. YUGOSLAVS ALSO PLAN TO SPONSOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT GROUP OF MILITARY EXPERTS UNDER CSCE AUSPICES. OFFICIAL EXPRESSED CONCERN AT PLANS OF SOVIETS TO PRESENT PROPOSALS AT NEXT UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD BE "COMPLETELY AT VARIANCE" WITH CSCE PRINCIPLES. END SUMMARY.

2. POLITICAL COUNSELOR CALLED ON KERSTIN ASP, MFA OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE AFFAIRS, TO MAKE PRESENTATION CONTAINED IN REF (A). VISIT WAS FOLLOW-UP TO DISCUSSION WITH ASP LAST MONTH ON HELSINKI MEETING OF NEUTRALS ON CSCE (REF B). ASP'S COMMENTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

3. BILATERAL APPROACHES -- ASP SAID SWEDEN ALSO RAISES, ON LOW KEY BASIS, BILATERAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN MOSCOW AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS, ADDING THAT THIS HAS BECOME ROUTINE PRACTICE SINCE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. RESPONSE OF EASTERN COUNTRIES HAS VARIED, SHE CONTINUED, WITH SOME COUNTRIES RESPONDING "WITH UNDERSTANDING," WHILE OTHERS HAVE REACTED NEGATIVELY. ASP SAID DURING JUNE VISIT OF FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON TO POLAND, SWEDISH OFFICIALS DETECTED A SOMEWHAT "TOUGHER" ATTITUDE ON PART OF MFA WORKING-LEVEL POLES TOWARDS CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. IN DISCUSSING POLISH ATTITUDE WITHIN SWEDISH MFA, ASP SAID IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT PERHAPS POLES WERE TRYING TO "HARMONIZE" THEIR LINE ON CSCE WITH THE EASTERN STATES, SINCE EARLIER THE POLES HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING ON CSCE MATTERS.

4. PRINCIPLES DECLARATION -- ASP REITERATED SWEDISH POSITION THAT ALL PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE REGARDED AS EQUALLY IMPORTANT. SWEDEN IS NOT MEMBER OF UNHRC GOVERNING BODY, BUT HAD IT BEEN, IT WOULD HAVE OPPOSED CUBAN-YUGOSLAV "COMPROMISE" HUMAN RIGHTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STOCKH 03951 01 OF 02 221306Z

RESOLUTION SINCE IT WOULD HAVE WATERED DOWN A CSCE TEXT.

5. MANEUVER NOTIFICATION AND OBSERVER INVITATIONS -- ASP CONFIRMED THAT SWEDEN HAD BEEN INVITED TO SEND OBSERVERS TO SOVIET MANEUVERS NEAR FINNISH BORDER IN JUNE; HOWEVER, SWEDES WERE NOT INFORMED BY THE HUNGARIANS OF THEIR MANEUVER IN APRIL.

6. BREZHNEV PROPOSALS -- ASP SAID SWEDES, LIKE U.S., WERE SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL OF BREZHNEV PROPOSALS FOR ALL EUROPEAN CONFERENCES AND AGREE THAT THEY ARE GRANDIOSE. ASP ADDED THAT PROPOSALS COULD BE EFFORT BY SOVIETS TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM BASKET THREE ISSUES. HOWEVER, ASP CONTINUED, SWEDES WILL STUDY THE PROPOSALS CAREFULLY AS THEY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION AT NEXT YEAR'S SESSION OF ECE. SHE SAID GOS IS CONCERNED THAT OTHER IMPLEMENTATION WORK BY ECE MIGHT BE JEOPARDIZED BY TOO GREAT AN EMPHASIS ON THE ALL EUROPEAN CONFERENCES.

7. RADIO BROADCASTING -- SWEDES HAVE BEEN VERY AWARE OF SOVIET SENSITIVITY TO WESTERN BORADCASTS, AND PARTICULARLY RFE AND RL, ALTHOUGH ASP SAID THAT, AS FAR AS GOS KNOWS, THERE HAS BEEN NO JAMMING OF RADIO SWEDEN BORADCASTS TO EASTERN EUROPE.

8. INFORMATION EXCHANGE -- ACCORDING TO ASP, SOVIETS AND OTHER EAST EUROPEANS HAVE MADE SAME ACCUSATION AS AGAINST U.S. OF LACK OF RECIPROCITY FOR EASTERN BOOKS AND FILMS IN SWEDEN. SWEDES HAVE REPLIED THAT EE COUNTRIES HAVE GREATER GOVERNMENTAL RESOURCES FOR TRANSLATION OF FOREIGN BOOKS AND FILMS THAN DO WESTERN COUNTRIES. SWEDES HAVE TOLD EE COUNTRIES THAT IN SWEDEN BOOK PUBLISHING AND FILM SHOWING IS ON PRIVATE, NOT GOVERNMENTAL BASIS, ALTHOUGH SINCE LAST YEAR THE GOVERNMENT HAS CONTRIBUTED SOME SUBSIDIES FOR PUBLICATION OF OTHERWISE NON-PROFITABLE WORKS. IN ADDITION, SWEDES POINT OUT THAT GOS DOES NOT RPT NOT MAKE CULTURAL AGREEMENTS AT GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL. (ASP ADDED THAT THIS TRADITION OF NO GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT CULTURAL AGREEMENTS IS NOW UNDER REVIEW BY HIGH LEVEL GOS COMMITTEE.) CONCERNING CIRCULATION OF SWEDISH PAPERS IN EE, SWEDES ARE NOT PARTICULARLY CONCERNED, SINCE INTEREST IN SWEDISH PRESS OUTSIDE SWEDEN IS LIMITED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STOCKH 03951 01 OF 02 221306Z

BECAUSE OF LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY.

9. FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS -- ASP AGREED THAT THERE HAD BEEN INCREASED DIPLOMATIC ACTIVUTY IN RECENT MONTHS CONCERNING CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. IN ADDITION TO LATE APRIL MEETING OF NEUTRALS IN HELSINKI (REF B), THE NORDIC COUNTRIES HAVE MET INFORMALLY AT EXPERTS' LEVEL TO DISCUSS CSCE. ANOTHER SUCH MEETING OF NORDIC EXPERTS WILL BE HELD ON AUGUST 13TH IN COPENHAGEN, ONE WEEK BEOFRE NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN THAT CITY. AS TIME MOVES CLOSER FOR BELGRADE MEETING NEXT JUNE, GOS WILL REACTIVATE ITS OWN WORKING GROUPS ON CSCE, WHICH HAD BEEN IN EXISTENCE AT TIME OF GENEVA CSCE NEGOTIATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STOCKH 03951 02 OF 02 221318Z

45

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CU-02 EB-07 BIB-01 DHA-02 CIAE-00

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-07 COME-00 /096 W
----- 103614

R 221130Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8201

INFO AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 3951

10. YUGOSLAV VIEWS -- ASP REPORTED THAT SHE AND MFA
POLITICAL OFFICE DIRECTOR LEIFLAND HAD TRAVELED TO BELGRADE
ON JUNE 14 TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YUGOSLAVS ON CSCE FOLLOW-UP.
IN CONTRAST TO SWEDISH AND OTHER NEUTRALS' VIEWS (REF B) THAT
THERE SHOULD BE LONG PERIOD OF PREPARATORY WORK AT
AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL, FOLLOWED BY A SHORT CONFERENCE AT
DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL, THE YUGOSLAVS SUGGESTED THAT
PREPARATORY PERIOD COULD BE SHORT -- PERHAPS FOUR TO SIX
WEEKS FROM JUNE 15 TO AUGUST 1. THIS, IN YUGOSLAV VIEW,
WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY ACTUAL CONFERENCE ITSELF, AT DEPUTY FOREIGN
MINISTER OR SECRETARY GENERAL LEVEL, WHICH WOULD LAST A
COUPLE OF MONTHS. SWEDES OBJECTED THAT MOST DEPUTY FOREIGN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STOCKH 03951 02 OF 02 221318Z

MINISTERS COULD NOT SPEND SO MUCH TIME AT A CONFERENCE, TO WHICH YUGOSLAVS REPLIED THAT FOR MOST OF THIS PERIOD, THE WORK COULD BE LEFT IN THE HANDS OF MORE JUNIOR OFFICERS, WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS SIMPLY OPENING THE CONFERENCE AND CLOSING IT. (AASP SAID WEST GERMAN MFA OFFICIALS WHO VISITED STOCKHOLM IN LATE JUNE ALSO SHARED YUGOSLAV VIEW ON DESIRABILITY OF SHORT PREPARATORY SESSION FOLLOWED BY LONG CONFERENCE.) YUGOSLAVS, SHE CONTINUED, PLACED GREAT EMPHASIS ON BASKET ONE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, SUCH AS NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS, AND TOLD THE SWEDES THAT IF MBFR MADE NO PROGRESS, THEY WOULD SEEK TO STRENGTHEN LINK BETWEEN MBFR AND CSCE. IN YUGOSLAV VIEW, A PERMANENT GROUP OF MILITARY EXPERTS COULD BE SET UP UNDER CSCE AUSPICES, SIMILAR TO THE SWISS GROUP ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. SWEDES RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTY OF ACHIEVING A CONSENSUS ON THIS, ASP NOTED. THE YUGOSLAVS ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN RE THE TENDENCIES OF BOTH THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO NATIONS TO "HARMONIZE" CSCE PRACTICES ON A BLOC BASIS. ASP ADDED THAT YUGOSLAVS TOLD THE SWEDES THAT NEXT YEAR'S CSCE CONFERENCE WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THEM POLITICALLY, AND THAT THEY WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS.

11. SOVIET EFFORTS AT UNESCO -- ASP EXPRESSED CONCERN OF GOS RE SOVIET PLANS TO PRESENT AT THE GENRAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO CERTAIN PROPOSALS WHICH ARE "COMPLETELY AT VARIANCE" WITH CSCE PRINCIPLES, PARTICULARLY ON QUESTIONS OF THE MASS MEDIA. SHE SAID SWEDES HAVE SEEN SOME OF THE PROPOSALS AND THEY APPEAR TO BE AN EFFORT BY THE SOVIETS TO "REGAIN THE GROUND THEY LOST IN CSCE." ASP ADDED THAT SINCE THE PROPOSED TEXTS ARE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE SWEDES, THEY WILL VOTE AGAINST THEM, BUT NEVERLTHELESS THEY THINK THEY WOULD SECURE A MAJORITY AT UNESCO.
SMITH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TREATY COMPLIANCE, POLICIES, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STOCKH03951
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760282-0427
From: STOCKHOLM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760731/aaaabart.tel
Line Count: 261
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 177231, 76 STOCKHOLM 2518, 76 STOCKHOLM 2507
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <05 AUG 2004 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONSULTATIONS WITH NEUTRALS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: SWEDEN
TAGS: PFOR, SW, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006